

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY
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EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDSI
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 4, 1975
(SALT TWO -505)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF FEBRUARY 4, 1975.

QUOTE

SEmenov Statement, February 4, 1975

IN THEIR STATEMENTS AT THE FEBRUARY 1, 1975 MEETING, THE DELEGATIONS OF THE USSR AND THE U.S. EXPRESSED THEIR READINESS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE WORK AIMED AT EMBODYING THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED IN VLADIVOSTOK IN THE PROVISIONS OF A NEW DRAFT AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, WHICH WOULD REMAIN IN FORCE UNTIL THE END OF 1985.

IN THE INTERESTS OF SUCCESSFULLY ACCOMPLISHING THIS

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TASK IT IS NECESSARY TO CONCENTRATE EFFORTS ON THE PREPARA-

TION OF SPECIFIC PROVISIONS FOR THE DRAFT AGREEMENT.
EXPERIENCE SHOWS THAT PRECISELY SUCH AN APPROACH MAKES IT
POSSIBLE TO GIVE THE WORK A BUSINESS-LIKE DIRECTION AT THE
VERY START, WHICH IS OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE FOR THIS PHASE,
CONSIDERING THE TIGHT TIME SCHEDULE.

STRIVING FOR SUCH A PURPOSEFUL AND INTENSIVE DEVELOP-
MENT OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS, THE USSR DELEGATION, UNDER
INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, AT THE LAST MEETING
TABLED A CONCRETE DRAFT AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF
STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. THE DRAFT TABLED IS FULLY IN
ACCORD WITH THE UNDERSTANDING ACHIEVED AS A RESULT OF THE
SUMMIT TALKS IN VLADIVOSTOK. THEREFORE IT CONSTITUTES A
VIALE CONSTRUCTIVE BASIS FOR PREPARING THE DRAFT TEXT OF
THE NEW AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE
ARMS FOR THE PERIOD UNTIL THE END OF 1985.

THE FACT THAT WE DO HAVE A DRAFT AGREEMENT ON THE
TABLE DIRECTS OUR JOINT EFFORT, FROM THE VERY BEGINNING,
INTO THE CHANNEL OF CONCRETE DISCUSSIONS, CREATING
FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL ACCOMPLISHMENT OF
THE ASSIGNED TASK ON TIME. THAT IS GOOD, BECAUSE IT CAN
SERVE AS A VALUABLE STARTING POINT FOR THE WORK OF THE
DELEGATIONS, AIMED AT WORKING OUT MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE
LANGUAGE FOR THE DRAFT AGREEMENT.

WE AGREE WITH THE CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED HERE AT
THE LAST MEETING TO THE EFFECT THAT IN THIS PROCESS A
USEFUL ROLE CAN ALSO BE PLAYED BY WORKING GROUPS WHOM THE
DELEGATIONS COULD CHARGE WITH PREPARATION, AS POSSIBLE, OF
INDIVIDUAL SPECIFIC FORMULATIONS FOR THE DRAFT ON AN
AD REFERENDUM BASIS. TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE EXISTING
UNDERSTAND, SUCH WORK COULD PRESUMABLY BEGIN RATHER SOON.

MR. AMBASSADOR,

AT TODAY'S MEETING WE WOULD LIKE TO ADDRESS THE GENERAL
APPROACH OF THE SOVIET SIDE TO THE QUESTIONS RELATED TO THE
MAIN CONTENT OF THE NEW DRAFT AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT.

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THE UNDERSTANDING AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, REACHED AS A
RESULT OF THE TALKS IN VLADIVOSTOK, WHICH DEFINES THE
PRINCIPAL TERMS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, CONSTITUTES, AS YOU
CORRECTLY NOTED, A SIGNIFICANT STEP FORWARD IN THE LIMITA-
TION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. AT THE SAME TIME ITS
IMPLEMENTATION WILL ALSO CONSTITUTE A MAJOR STEP TOWARD
CURBING THE ARMS RACE AND STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL
PEACE. THE TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, IN WHICH THE TERMS

OF THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING MUST BE EMBODIED IN LEGAL-TREATY LANGUAGE, MUST SERVE PRECISELY THESE MOST IMPORTANT GOALS.

THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED CONFIRMS THE RESOLVE OF OUR TWO STATES TO CARRY OUT STRICTLY AND TO THE FULLEST EXTENT THE MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS RECORDED IN THE DOCUMENTS SIGNED IN 1972-1974. IN PARTICULAR, IT IS IN ACCORD WITH THE OBLIGATION OF THE SIDES, AS RECORDED IN THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S. OF MAY 29, 1972, TO MAKE SPECIAL EFFORTS TO LIMIT STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS AND WHENEVER POSSIBLE CONCLUDE CONCRETE AGREEMENTS AIMED AT ACHIEVING THESE PURPOSES. IT IS IN ACCORD WITH THE GOALS OF THE HISTORIC AGREEMENT ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR, CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S. ON JUNE 22, 1973.

THOROUGH REFLECTION ON THE TASK PLACED BEFORE OUR DELEGATIONS AT THIS PARTICULAR STAGE MAKES IT CLEAR THAT THE OBLIGATIONS WHICH THE SIDES WILL ASSUME UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT MUST IN THEIR TOTALITY ALSO REPRESENT THE EMBODIMENT OF RESTRAINT WHICH THE SIDES IN MAY 1972 AGREED TO EXERCISE IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THEM.

WITH RESPECT TO STRATEGIC ARMS, THE EXERCISE OF RESTRAINT IS OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE FOR OBVIOUS REASONS. THE SPHERE FOR THE EXERCISE OF RESTRAINT IN CONNECTION WITH STRATEGIC ARMS IS EXPANDING. THE TREATY ON THE LIMITATION OF ABM SYSTEMS AND THE INTERIM AGREEMENT ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, CONCLUDED IN MAY 1972, WERE FOLLOWED BY THE PROTOCOL TO THE ABM TREATY OF JULY 3, 1974, WHICH FURTHER LIMITED THE NUMBER OF ABM DEPLOYMENT AREAS PERMITTED EACH SIDE. THE NEW AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS--AND THIS ENSUES DIRECTLY

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FROM THE LETTER AND THE SPIRIT OF THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING--MUST BECOME A FURTHER MAJOR ACHIEVEMENT IN THE EXERCISE OF RESTRAINT WITH RESPECT TO STRATEGIC ARMS. IN PRACTICE THIS WOULD ALSO UNDOUBTEDLY MEAN TO STRENGTHEN THE PEACEFUL BASIS OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND TO REDUCE THE THREAT OF WAR AND ENHANCE THE SECURITY OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

ADDRESSING U.S. PRESIDENT GERALD FORD AT A DINNER IN HIS HONOR ON NOVEMBER 24, 1974 IN VLADIVOSTOK, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU, L. I. BREZHNEV, EMPHASIZED: "FOR INTERNATIONAL DETENTE TO BECOME REALLY LASTING, IT MUST BE REINFORCED BY DETENTE IN THE MILITARY SPHERE. NEW PROGRESS IN THIS DIRECTION WILL BE OF ENORMOUS IMPORTANCE FOR WORLD PEACE. I WOULD THINK

THAT IN THIS RESPECT WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED USEFUL WORK
IN VLADIVOSTOK. IF IT IS CARRIED TO COMPLETION AND A NEW
AGREEMENT IS SIGNED, THEN YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, AND I, WILL
RECEIVE THE THANKS OF NOT ONLY THE SOVIET AND AMERICAN
PEOPLES, BUT ALSO THOSE OF ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD."

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ACTION SS-25

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FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2401

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 00015

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IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DECISIONS REACHED AT THE
HIGHEST LEVEL, THE ASSORTMENT OF SYSTEMS TO BE LIMITED
HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLY EXPANDED AS COMPARED TO THE INTERIM
AGREEMENT OF MAY 26, 1972. THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NEW
AGREEMENT WILL BE DETERMINED NOT ONLY BY THE BROADER
ASSORTMENT OF THE TYPES OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO BE
LIMITED, WHICH OF COURSE IS OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE, BUT ALSO
BY THE FACT THAT THESE ARMS ARE BEING LIMITED QUANTITATIVELY
AS WELL AS QUALITATIVELY. A MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE
QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS BEING ESTABLISHED UNDER THE AGREE-
MENT, IS IN PARTICULAR, THE LIMITATION OF THE AGGREGATE
NUMBER OF SUBMARINE-LAUNCHED BALLISTIC MISSILES AND LAND-
BASED INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILES, EQUIPPED WITH
MIRVS. THE COMBINATION OF QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE

LIMITATIONS WILL UNDOUBTEDLY ENSURE THE EFFECTIVENESS AND VIABILITY OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

THE PROVISION ON RESTRAINT IN THE TEXT BEING WORKED OUT MUST ALSO BE APPLIED TO THE OBLIGATION OF THE SIDES TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW TYPES OF SECRET

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STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. THIS WILL SERVE AS AN IMPORTANT GUARANTEE THAT THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT NOT BE CIRCUMVENTED AS A RESULT OF THE APPEARANCE OF THOSE TYPES OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WHICH AT THE PRESENT TIME ARE NOT IN THE ARSENAL OF THE SIDES, BUT WHICH COULD PERHAPS APPEAR IN THE PERIOD BEFORE 1985.

THE LIMITATIONS THE SIDES WOULD ASSUME UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT, BY ESTABLISHING LIMITS ON THE DEPLOYMENT OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS AND BY REFRAINING FROM THE DEVELOPMENT OF CERTAIN NEW TYPES OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, WOULD ALSO BE IN ACCORD WITH THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE USSR AND THE U.S. UNDER ARTICLE VI OF THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE IMPORTANCE OF ENHANCING WHOSE EFFECTIVENESS WAS EMPHASIZED IN THE JOINT SOVIET-AMERICAN COMMUNIQUE ON THE RESULTS OF THE VLADIVOSTOK MEETING OF NOVEMBER 24, 1974.

PRECISELY SUCH A CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH, BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY, LIES AT THE BASIS OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT TABLED FEBRUARY 1, 1975.

ARTICLE I OF THE DRAFT PROVIDES A CONCISE EXPRESSION OF THE APPROACH OF THE SIDES TO THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, WHICH ENSUES FROM THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER OF THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING. ASSUMPTION BY THE SIDES OF THE OBLIGATION SET FORTH IN ARTICLE I WOULD EMPHASIZE THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. THIS ARTICLE WOULD PLAY NO MEAN ROLE ALSO FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF UNDERSTANDING THE MEANING OF THE ACCORD BY THE GENERAL PUBLIC, IN OUR COUNTRIES AS WELL AS IN THE OTHER STATES OF THE WORLD. THE WORDING OF THE FIRST ARTICLE IS BASED ON THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT, WHICH ARE SET FORTH IN ITS SUBSEQUENT ARTICLES. THIS IS IN ACCORD WITH GENERALLY ACCEPTED INTERNATIONAL PRACTICE.

IN FUTURE STATEMENTS THE USSR DELEGATION INTENDS TO ADDRESS THE SUBSEQUENT ARTICLES OF THE DRAFT IN SPECIFICS.
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